

## Message Text

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AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

USMISSION GENEVA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

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SUBJECT: 25TH CONGRESS: LEADERSHIP SPEECHES FEBRUARY 25

REF: MOSCOW 2997

1. SUMMARY: INDIVIDUAL SPEECHES BY SOVIET LEADERS ON THE SECOND DAY OF THE CONGRESS STRUCK A NUMBER OF COMMON CHORDS, BUT THERE WERE ALSO INDIVIDUAL EMPHASES AND EVEN SURPRISING DEPARTURES FROM THE NORM. PRAISE OF BREZHNEV TENDED TO BE LAVISH, ALTHOUGH IT RANGED FROM MODERATE (ROMANOV) TO OBSEQUIOUS (KUNAYEV). MOST SPEAKERS FOUND FAULT WITH INADEQUATE COORDINATION AND INPUT BY SCIENTIFIC-RESEARCH ORGANIZATIONS INTO THE PRODUCTION PROCESS. SOME CRITICIZED INADEQUATE PERFORMANCE BY CENTRAL MINISTRIES AND PLANNING BODIES (ESPECIALLY MASHEROV, ROMANOV, SHCHERBITSKIY, AND KUNAYEV).

2. IN DISCUSSIONS OF FOREIGN POLICY, ALL EXCEPT MASHEROV PAID TRIBUTE TO BREZHNEV'S PEACE PROGRAM, BUT THE NUANCES RANGED FROM STRAIGHTFORWARD POSITIVE EVALUATION (SOLOMENTSEV) TO IMPLICIT CRITICISM IN PORTRAYING THE SOVIET POLICY AS COMING UNDER SEVERE PRESSURE FROM EXTERNAL ENEMIES WHO SEEK TO USE DETENTE FOR SUBVERTING SOCIALISM (ROMANOV, SHCHERBITSKIY, MASHEROV). MASHEROV AND SHCHERBITSKIY, WHO RAN A DEAD HEAT FOR THE MOST HARDLINING RHETORIC, DIRECTED THEIR IRE AT THE PENETRATION OF REVISIONIST INFLUENCES INTO SOME FOREIGN COMMUNIST PARTIES. WHILE MOST INCLUDED AT LEAST A FEW CAUSTIC WORDS ABOUT MAOISM, KUNAYEV, IN A NOTEWORTHY DEPARTURE FROM THE NORM, SEEMINGLY ARGUED FOR GREATER FLEXIBILITY IN DEALING WITH CHINA. LIKE BREZHNEV, MOST SPEAKERS DID NOT RAISE THE ISSUE OF NATIONALISM AS AN INTERNAL PROBLEM, ALTHOUGH KUNAYEV AFFIRMED THE LOYALTY OF KAZAKHS TO THE MULTI-NATIONAL SOVIET STATE. HIGHLIGHTS OF THE SPEECHES ARE GIVEN BELOW. END SUMMARY.

3. V.V. SHCHERBITSKIY, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE UKRAINIAN CP: THE SPEECH DELIVERED BY V.V. SHCHERBITSKIY WAS NOTEWORTHY FOR ITS MILITANTLY CONSERVATIVE IDEOLOGICAL CAST AND THE INTOLERANT TONE OF A HATCHET MAN. IN ONE SUBSTANTIVE PORTION, HE WARNED THAT THE "PENETRATION LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OF COMMUNIST PARTIES BY REVISIONIST INFLUENCES OF THE RIGHTIST OR LEFTIST VARIETIES, OF NATIONALIST AND OTHER IDEOLOGIES ALIEN TO THE WORKING CLASS VIEW, ULTIMATELY LEADS TO COMMON POSITIONS WITH THE BOURGEOISIE OR TO ADVANTURISTIC ACTIONS." ALTHOUGH CITING ONLY THE MAOISTS AS AN EXAMPLE, SHCHERBITSKIY OBVIOUSLY HAD CLOSER TARGETS IN VIEW. GIVEN THE HARSHLY INTOLERANT CAST OF HIS REMARKS IN GENERAL, THE SOVIET INTELLIGENTSIA

SHOULD FEEL RELIEVED BY HIS FAILURE TO DISCUSS THE PROBLEM OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS IN THE USSR. IN ONE NOTEWORTHY PASSAGE, SHCHERBITSKIY SINGLED OUT THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT APPARATUS FOR CRITICISM: "THERE ARE NOT A FEW FACTS TESTIFYING TO THE NECESSITY FOR FURTHER IMPROVING THE WORK OF OUR STAGE ORGANS, ABOUT WHICH LEONID IL'ICH SPOKE IN HIS REPORT. IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, IN OUR VIEW, THIS APPLIES TO GOSPLAN, GOSSNAB (STATE PROCUREMENT AGENCY), AND THE COMMITTEE FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY." LIKE OTHER SPEAKERS, SHCHERBITSKIY DISTRIBUTED HIS PRAISE AMONG THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE POLITBURO, AND BREZHNEV PERSONALLY, DESCRIBING THE LATTER AS THE "GENERALLY-RECOGNIZED LEADER OF OUR PARTY" AND AS "ONE OF THE MOST OUTSTANDING STATESMAN OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' MOVEMENT."

4. V.V. GRISHIN, FIRST SECRETARY, MOSCOW QORKOM: IN A GENERALLY GRAY AND UNEXCEPTIONABLE ADDRESS, GRISHIN DESCRIBED THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF MUSCOVITES AND PROGRESS IN FULFILLING THE DIRECTIVE OF THE 24TH CONGRESS TO TURN MOSCOW INTO A MODEL COMMUNIST CITY. HE GAVE EVEN-HANDED PRAISE TO THE PULITBURO AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR OBSERVING LENIST NORMS AND COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP IN THEIR WORK, BUT STRESSED BREZHNEV'S MANY VIRTUES, INCLUDING HIS "INEXHAUSTIBLE ENERGY," AND, SLIPPING IN A LAUDATORY MENTION OF THE WORK ON THE NEW CONSTITUTION, GRISHIN GENERALLY TOOK A HARD LINE IN COMPARING THE VIRTUES OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY AND THE EVILS OF BOURGEOIS FREEDOMS, ASSERTING THAT SOVIET PEOPLE "CANNOT BE TEMPTED BY SO-CALLED BOURGEOIS FREEDOMS". HE CHARACTERIZED PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AS SHOWING CONSTANT ATTENTION TO THE INTELLIGENTSIA, COMBINING "HIGH EXPECTATIONS FOR THE IDEOLOGICAL CONENT OF CREATIVE WORK WITH TENDER CARE FOR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE CREATORS OF ARTISTIC ACHIEVEMENTS."

5. D.A. KUNAYEV, FIRST SECRETARY, KAZAKHSTAN CP: IN STYLE, KUNAYEV'S ADDRESS TYPICALLY ABOUNDED WITH HYPERBOLE AND OBSEQUIOUSNESS, ESPECIALLY IN REFERENCES TO BREZHNEV PERSONALLY AND IN PRAISING THE LEADING ROLE OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE WITHIN THE MULTI-NATIONAL SOVIET STATE. BUT IN PLEDGING THAT KAZAKHSTAN WOULD BEND EVERY EFFORT TO REALIZE THE GOALS OF THE 10TH FIVE YEAR PLAN, KUNAYEV NOTED THAT RESULTS DEPENDED ON KAZAKHSTAN'S RECEIVING ESSENTIAL ANTI-EROSION AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY AND THE K-701 TRACTOR; HE REBUKED THE USSR MINISTRY OF TRACTOR AND AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY INDUSTRY FOR "EVADING THE OPERATIONAL SOLUTION OF THESE QUESTIONS." (PRAVDA'S TEXT NOTED AT THIS POINT: "ANIMATION IN THE HALL"). HE ALSO

STRESSED THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONSISTENTLY  
HIGH GRAIN YIELDS AND THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF FODDER  
PRODUCTION, ON WHICH ANY INCREASE IN THE LIVESTOCK INDUSTRY  
DEPENDS, REQUIRES WIDER USE OF IRRIGATION: "ANY OTHER COURSE  
OF ACTION PLACES AGRICULTURE AT THE MERCY OF THE WEATHER."

6. THE PROXIMITY OF KAZAKHSTAN TO CHINA, AND THE SENSITIVITY  
OF KAZAKHS TO THE STATUS OF THEIR COMPATRIOTS ACROSS THE  
BORDER, ALSO ALLOWED KUNAYEV TO EXPLORE THE IMPLICATIONS  
OF CHINA'S "CHAUVINISTIC POLICY TOWARD ITS NATIONAL  
MINORITIES IN CONTIGUOUS SINKIANG...WHICH HAS DEPRIVED THEM  
OF ALL RIGHTS." KUNAYEV IN FACT SEEMED TO BE ARGUING THAT  
THIS SITUATION ALLOWS THE USSR TO USE GREATER FLEXIBILITY  
IN DEALING WITH CHINA: "THESE NATIONAL MINORITIES, AS ALL  
THE WORKING PEOPLE OF CHINA, CANNOT BE DISINTERESTED IN  
IMPROVED SOVIET-CHINESE RELATIONS; THEIR RESTORATION, ON  
THE BASIS OF PRICIPLES DEFINED IN THE REPORT OF LEONID  
IL'ICH BREZHNEV, WOULD BE TIMELY AND USEFUL; REASON AND  
REALISM MUST PREVAIL."

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7. G.V. ROMANOV, FIRST SECRETARY OF LENINGRAD OBKOM:  
SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF AN ADVANCED AND MATURE INDUSTRIAL  
AREA, ROMANOV DEVOTED MUCH OF HIS SPEECH TO A DISCUSSION  
OF PROPER COORDINATION AND MANAGEMENT IN INDUSTRY, OF  
POOR CENTRAL PLANNING, AND OF THE UNSATISFACTORY STATE  
OF INPUT BY SCIENTIFIC AND RESEARCH ORGANIZATIONS INTO THE  
PRODUCTION PROCESS. IN THESE CRITICISMS, HE REFLECTED THE  
DISSATISFACTION EVIDENT IN OTHER SPEECHES, INCLUDING  
BREZHNEV'S. ROMANOV APPROVED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PRODUCTION  
ASSOCIATIONS, WHICH "TOGETHER WITH THE LARGEST ENTERPRISES,  
PRODUCE THREE-FOURTHS OF LENINGRAD'S INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT."  
SUCH ASSOCIATIONS, ACCORDING TO ROMANOV, HAVE A UNIQUE  
CAPABILITY OF COPING WITH COMPLEX PRODUCTION PROCESSES, AND  
THEY HAVE BECOME THE "BASIC UNIT OF ACCOUNTABILITY IN OUR  
INDUSTRY AND EXERCISE DECISIVE INFLUENCE ON THE RESULTS OF  
ITS OPERATIONS." HE RECOMMENDED THAT CENTRAL PLANNING ORGANS  
ADOPT A SIMILAR INTEGRATED APPROACH IN PLANNING LARGE-SCALE  
COMPLEX PROJECTS, SUCH AS BAM AND THE UST'-ILIMSK COMPLEX.  
TURNING TO INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, ROMANOV PRAISED THE SOVIET  
POLICY OF REDUCING INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS, BUT PORTRAYED IT  
AS COMING UNDER SEVERE PRESSURE BY ENEMIES OF DETENTE. THEY  
SEEK TO USE DETENTE, HE IMPLIED, TO INTERFERE IN SOVIET  
INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND TO SUBVERT THE SOCIALIST  
SYSTEM. THE PRESENT TIMES, THEREFORE, REQUIRE  
HEIGHTENED IDEOLOGICAL VIGILANCE.

8. P.M. MASHEROV, FIRST SECRETARY OF BELORUSSIA: MASHEROV  
GENERALLY ENDORSED THE FOREIGN POLICY LINE AT THE  
CONGRESS BUT FAILED TO MENTION THE PEACE PROGRAM

SPECIFICALLY. HEADOPTED AN UNCOMPROMISING LINE TOWARDS THOSE WHO CRITICIZE THE SOVIET SYSTEM AND TOWARDS SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS WHO SEEK TO MODIFY MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY. HE INDICATED THAT IT WAS PARTICULARLY IN CONDITIONS OF DETENTE THAT VARIOUS ANTI-SOVIET AND ANTI-COMMUNIST ELEMENTS TRIED TO DIMINISH AND COMPROMISE THE ADVANCES OF SOCIALISM, TO HINDER THE NORMALIATION OF INTERNATIONAL CONDITIONS, TO MISINFORM THE PEOPLE AND TO SUPPRESS THEIR DESIRE TO STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. MAOISTS WERE INCLUDED AMONG THESE ELEMENTS BY MASHEROV. HOWEVER, HIS MOST CAUSTIC REMARKS WERE RESERVED FOR THOSE ANTI-SOVIET ELEMENTS WHO LOOK FOR PRO-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TESTORS AGAINST THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM "IN HOUSES FOR THE MENTALLY INSANE."

9. MASHEROV'S VIEW OF COMMUNISTS WHO SEEK TO MODIFY, MODERNIZE, AND STRETCH MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY FOR THEIR OWN NATIONAL PURPOSES WAS ALSO VERY NEGATIVE. HE CONTENTED THAT SUCH PEOPLE WERE REALLY EMASCULATING MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY AND ACCUSED THEM OF BELIEVING THAT THE LIVING THEORY (DEVELOPED IN THE SOVIET UNION) WAS CONSERVATIVE AND DOGMATIC. HE ARGUED THAT IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO REPEAL THE OBJECTIVE LAWS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT ON THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND HAILED PROLETARIN INTERNATIONALISM. HIS SWEEP WAS BROAD ENOUGH TO HIT "CREATIVE MARXISTS" AT HOME AND EAST EUROPEAN RULING COMMUNISTS LIKE CEAUSESCU AS WELL AS THE WEST EUROPEANS BREZHNEV SEEMED TO TARGET THE DAY BEFORE, BUT BY THE SAME TOKEN IT WAS SO BROAD THAT HE CANNOT REALLY BE ACCUSED OF HITTING ANYONE IN PARTICULAR.

10. MASHEROV ALSO HAD CRITICAL WORDS FOR THE STATE APPARATUS. HE INDICATED THAT HE BELIEVED GOSPLAN AND GOSSNAB WERE INCAPABLE OF DEALING WITH THE INTERFACE BETWEEN BRANCHES OF THE ECONOMY AND SUGGESTED THAT A NEW STRUCTURAL SUB-DIVISION UNDER THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MIGHT BE NECESSARY FOR THIS PORUPOSE. FINALLY, MASHEROV MADE NUMEROUS REFERENCES TO BREZHNEV AND PRAISED HIM HIGHLY.

11M M.S. SOLOMENTSEV, CHAIRMAN, RSFSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS: SOLOMETSEV GAVE FAVORABLE TREATMENT TO THE BREZHNEV FOREIGN POLICY LINE. HE DISCRIBED THE GENERAL SECRETARY'S REMARKS TO THE 25TH CONGRESS, FOR EXAMPLE, AS A PROGRAM WHICH CONTINUED AND DEVELOPED THE PROGRAM OF PEACE OF THE 25TH. HE MADE NO STATEMENTS DIRECTED AT ACTIVITIES OF WESTERN COMMUNIST PARTIES OR AT THE ENEMIES OF DETENTE IN THE WEST. RATHER, HIS CRITICAL COMMENTS WERE SAVED

FOR THE MAOIST, WHOM HE ACCUSED OF SPLITTING THE RANKS OF FIGHTERS FOR SOCIALISM, PEACE, AND FREEDOM. HE SAID THAT THE PEACE-LOVING FORCES HAVE GIVEN A DECISIVE REBUFF TO THE "INCENDIARY" COURSE OF THE MAOISTS.

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12. ON THE DOMESTIC FRONT SOLOMENTSEV'S COMMENTS WERE STADARD, DEALING MOSTLY WITH VARIOUS ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS AND OCCASSIONALLY WITH PROBLEMS IN THE USSR. HE WAS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED WITH UTILIZING SCIENTIFIC CAPACITY IN THE SOLUTION OF VITAL TASKS -- A THEME DEVELOPED BY OTHER LEADERS AS WELL. HE NOTED THE SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 1965 PLENUM ON AGRICULTURE AND BREZHNEV'S PERSONAL INITIATIVES IN THIS AREA. SOLOMENTSEV GAVE BREZHNEV HIGH PERSONAL PRAISE, CALLING HIM THE OUTSTANDING FIGURE OF THE MODERN PERIOD. HE DID NOT USE THE "POLITBURO HEADED BY" FORMULATION IN DESCRIBING HIM, HOWEVER. IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT SOLOMETSEV FAILED TO ATTACK ANY OF THE GOVERNMENT INSITITUTIONS (HE OF COURSE HEADS THE RSFSR GOVENMENT APPARATUS) AS DID SOME OF THE PARTY APPARATUS LEADERS.

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